

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA AND THE WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

OBJECT:

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of society as a whole.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The Companion Parties of Socialism hold:

1. — That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labor alone wealth is produced.
 2. — That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.
 3. — That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.
 4. — That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.
 5. — That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.
 6. — That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organize consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and overthrow of plutocratic privilege.
 7. — That as political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interest of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.
 8. — THE COMPANION PARTIES OF SOCIALISM, therefore, enter the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labor or avowedly capitalist, and call upon all members of the working class of these countries to support these principles to the end that a termination may be brought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labor, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.
- Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrollment in the Party should apply for Application for Membership from the sec'y of nearest local or the Nat'l Hdqtrs.*

These six parties adhere to the same Socialist Principles:

SOCIALIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA — P. O. Box 1440, Melbourne, Australia;
Sydney, Australia, Box 2291, GPO.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA — P. O. Box 115, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN — 52 Clapham High St., London SW. 4.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF NEW ZEALAND — P. O. Box 62, Petone, New Zealand;
P. O. Box 1929, Auckland, New Zealand.

WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF IRELAND—53 High St., Room 5, Belfast 1, No. Ireland

WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF U. S.—11 Faneuil Hall Sq., Boston, Mass. 02109.

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JUN 22 1966

The Indonesian Massacre

THE LIBRARY

- THAT CHINESE "COMMUNISM"
- PROFITS & DEATH ON HIGHWAYS
- PIGEONS & PIGEON TRAINERS
- TAXES & THOSE WHO PAY THEM
- INTERNATIONALISM
- THE BRITISH ELECTIONS
- PROBLEMS of CAPITALISM & SOCIALISM

Under capitalism the real product of industry is profits
... other attributes of commodities such as usefulness, safety
and fitness for human consumption are realized only to the
extent that they further profit.



FROM OUR MAIL BAG

MAY DAY IN BELFAST

Dear Comrades:

I'm sorry I have been delayed in giving you an account of our May Day demonstration, but I ran into a bit of trouble with the police. One of our chief propaganda missions was to distribute leaflets at the Trades Union Council March. This is a very grand affair with unions coming in from all over the country with their banners and their bands and a platform staffed with the usual collection of "Reformers." The rally point was inside the Fruit and Vegetable Market which have ancient iron gates with ornamental spikes on the top. We had placed one of our banners across the top of those gates at the conclusion of the March, I was trying to remove it under the direct observation by two officers of The Royal Ulster Constabulary — a Sergeant and a District Inspector. (In addition to the gold badge on his sleeve a "D.I." is recognized by his walking stick). As I was trying to remove our banner a gust of wind caught it and impaled it on top of the spikes... Well what could I do, Comrades? What would you have done? Well I asked the District Inspector if he would mind if I borrowed his walking stick. Needless to say he didn't. Instead he took a firmer grip upon it and swinging it above his head... Proceeded to carefully release our banner from the gate...thus, Comrades, on 1st of May, 1966 I became the first member of The World Socialist Party of Ireland to invoke the aid of the police.

S. W. MacCloskey

Once again our answer to the Christian Science critic from Pocatello, Idaho was crowded out. Look for it in W.S. No. 4-1966.

OFFICIAL NOTICE

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New York, N.Y.

Dear Friends:

Here is a terrific tip on a real bargain. Readers of "The Western Socialist" will be gratified.

This message brought to you by Max Bogen, 350 7th Ave., Tel.: PE 6-9305

ON BUYING A MINK COAT FOR \$70,000

Some of you have probably spent sleepless nights wondering why Max Bogen's name was conspicuous in its absence from the list of Mink purchasers who paid up to \$1,100 per skin at Wednesday's Mink auction.

Don't think we didn't consider buying some.

We examined the Mink and found them to be beautiful and well-furred.

But we also thought, that in coat form, an expert at ten paces would be hard put to tell the \$70,000 Mink coat from the \$4,000 Mink coat which we are proud to deliver.

Now, let's look at the economics of it:

After ten years, the lady who buys the \$70,000 Mink coat is tired of it, and what has she got? An old Mink coat.

Her friend bought a \$4,000 Max Bogen Mink coat and deposited the \$66,000 she was left with, at her favorite commercial bank.

At the end of ten years, what has she got? On old Mink coat and \$110,817.23.

You know, buying a Max Bogen Mink coat might just prove to be a perfect hedge against Depression.

(Ad in N.Y. Times, 5-8-66)

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Listen to Local Boston radio programs on Saturday evenings: June 18, July 2, 16, 30 from 6.55 to 7.00 p.m. over WCRB, 1330 AM, 102.5 FM.

BOSTON ACTIVITIES — SUNDAYS

11 Faneuil Hall Square
June 12 Power Potential—Talk by L. Fenton
June 19 The Great American Funeral — Film
June 26 Informal Social
July 3 East Germany: Land Beyond the Wall—Film
July 10 Alternatives to Capitalism—W. Jerome, G. Ellenbogen
July 17 The Dropout—Film
July 24 Sweden—Film
July 31 Informal Social

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EDIT. COMMITTEE VIEWS THE NEWS

THE INDONESIAN MASSACRE

Under a Jakarta dateline Seth S. King, a New York Times Far East correspondent, writes of the recent slaughter of Indonesian "communists."* Amid the grisly details of a carnage that runs all the way from the "official" figure set recently by the angry President Sukarno (who is, thus far, suffered to remain in office albeit with greatly lightened authority) of 87,000 to the estimate of an unnamed diplomat that at least 300,000 have died since last October, one lesson seems clear. The United States can learn much from Indonesia on the "art" of killing "communists" on a mass scale and at minimum cost per dead "communist." For if the figure of 300,000 is accurate then — as Mr. King points out — "more than one third more people have already been killed in Indonesia in the past six months than have died in Vietnam since the Vietminh started their war against the French 15 years ago." And the massacre in Indonesia was accomplished without benefit of expensive bombers, napalm, tear and nausea gas, and green beretted modern assassins aided and abetted by a quarter of a million normal-type warriors. Largely plain old-fashioned murder at the hands of old-fashioned mobs of aroused Moslem and Hindoo fanatics seems to have turned the trick in Indonesia.

But another point must be made — a point of *similarity* in the approach of at least some Indonesians to the problem of destroying "com-

munists" to that which seems to be followed by American and South Vietnam Government forces. Mr. King tells us:

"...Among the xenophobic Moslems of northern Sumatra, the principal targets were the Javanese who had been imported to work on state-owned plantations. Many of them *were* Communists; *all* of them were suspected of being Communists, and the fact that they were Javanese strangers was enough." (His emphasis).

Like American and South Vietnamese Government "freedom" forces, the Indonesian anti-"communist" policy seems to have been: if they don't look right to you, wipe them out. Some of them just might be "communists!"

And does it not seem strange that so little has been published in the "freedom loving" press of America on the Indonesian massacre? One would think that 300,000 murdered "communists" should rate some crocodile tears, at least. Supposing it had been the other way around with P.K.I. (Indonesian Peking-oriented Communist Party) performing the sacrificial duties. Ah, what a howl there would have been! But whatever cooperation or collusion there might have been between the U. S. and Indonesia military factions there is now cause for rejoicing in Washington, for "communist" China seems to be no longer an influence in that vitally important land and the once powerful P.K.I. (with a book-membership of some three million and a powerful influence over many more millions throughout all of the islands) is crushed. Crushed, moreover, by

*The New York Times Magazine, May 8, 1966.

their fellow-Indonesians rather than by American troops which could have been the introduction to general disaster.

* * *

And while on the subject of "communist" nations and "communists" some interesting facts should be set forth: Although the darling of the Chinese-oriented parties, Indonesia was by no means a Communist-dominated state nor has Sukarno been typical of the Leninist-Stalinist leaders. President Sukarno has protested that he "balanced" Indonesia's nationalists, "communists," and religionists one against the other. His policy was known as "nasakom," a coined word which embraces all three conflicting groups. Not that "communists" have ever found it impossible or even difficult to unite with nationalists and religionists — when expedient — but unfortunately for the P.K.I. its main allegiance was to China. Sukarno's "Guided Democracy" was, while it lasted, a sort of neo-united front of warring political groups but alas! a tenuous one as were so many of the Communist United Fronts of bygone years. When the lamb lies with the lion it is the lion that comes out on top!

* * *

TWO PROFESSORS "STRIKE OIL"

While still on the subject of "communist" nations our hats are off to a couple of professors; J. Kenneth Galbraith ("Affluent Society") of Harvard; and Gajo Petrovic of the University of Belgrade, Yugoslavia, who recently addressed a conference on Karl Marx in the modern world at the University of Notre Dame.

In a CDN dispatch from Washington that made the front page of The Boston Globe (April 26, 1966), Peter Lisagor tells us of Professor Galbraith's distaste for arming pauper nations. The official line that such poverty-stricken areas as India, Pakistan, most of Africa, and Indonesia are targets for "communist revolution" does not go down with him. As quoted by Lisagor, Galbraith states:

"Only the peculiar and mind-numbing tendencies of cold-war fears and formulas have kept us from seeing that communism, the most highly organized of systems, has no chance where there is no organization at all.

"The Soviets seem to have been equally retarded. It was a mistake, incidentally, that Marx would not have made. (Lisagor's emphasis).

"Having doubted that Russia was sufficiently advanced for successful socialism, he would have had little hope for Indonesia..."

And M.S. Handler in a special dispatch to The New York Times of April 27, 1966, quotes Professor Petrovic (in the course of a talk on "alienation of man from society and from himself" as a central theme of Marx's philosophy):

"...The transformation of private property into the state property...does not introduce an essential change in the situation of the working man, the producers.

"The dealienation of economic life requires also the abolition of state property, its transformation into real social property and this can be achieved only by organizing the whole of social life on the basis of self-management of the immediate producers."

Bravo! Professor Galbraith and Petrovic. Even though we are not convinced that you are completely clear on the nature of socialist revolution, what you have been quoted as having said needs saying again and again by people whose words are quite apt to be widely listened to. It is good to know that we are no longer just about all alone — as we have been for all of fifty years.

* * *

OH, FORTUNATE AMERICAN WORKERS!

How good it is to learn, as we did by reading The New York Times for Sunday, March 6, 1966, that United States is now second only to France in total investments in Vietnam. The French are still well up on "us" with some \$202,500,000 in assets (rubber, tea and coffee plantations, etc., as well as four banks in Saigon and domination in the bicycle industry). "We" are second, with under \$50

million (primarily in petroleum, a textile and a paper mill and a dairy company). But "our" businessmen and bankers are giving the situation some serious attention and have been "casing the joint" in the interests of American, rather than foreign, investment. As Henry H. Sperry, vice-president in Hong Kong of the First National City Bank of New York put it:

"We believe we're going to win this war and afterwards you'll have a major job of reconstruction on your hands. That will take financing, and financing means banks.

"I think the Government here recognizes the need for American banks. It would be illogical to permit the English and French to monopolize the banking business because South Vietnam's economy is becoming more and more U.S. oriented."

Mr. Sperry is right. The American boys who have been saved from the rigors of wage-slavery in American industry (for the time being) by shipment to South Vietnam, should at least have the right to bleed and even to die in the interests of American — rather than foreign capitalists. It makes a big difference — to the American capitalist!

* * *

THAT CHINESE "COMMUNISM"

The contention (frequently met in the U.S. Press) that it is not possible for us in the United States to get information on the true state of affairs in Red China because our correspondents are not permitted to enter that area is so much nonsense. Not that we mean to imply that American newsmen should not be able to enter China and write of it. But the Canadian Government, for example, which maintains diplomatic and business relations with Red China does permit Canadian reporters the opportunity to visit and write of the Chinese scene. Since the U.S.-Canadian border is not sealed we are able to get the information from Canadian sources.

Is the Red Chinese system a "workers' paradise"? Or, to put it more conservatively, does the system operate in the interest of the working class as the Maoist propagandists would

have us believe? Lyn Harrington, a Canadian writer, tells us in her article in "Maclean's" of May 2, 1966 of her interview with one "worker" couple in Shanghai who, in company with some 90,000 other "workers" of their type in that city do live in a veritable paradise.

In the words of Liu Nyan-tse (a "transformed capitalist") "I'm not a Communist. I'm a capitalist. I draw a million *yuan* on my investments, and as general manager of China Wool Manufacturing Company, my salary is 525 *yuan* a month." (This, according to Lyn Harrington, is equivalent to an investment income of \$420,000 Canadian plus \$225.00 monthly). And it seems that "some sixty-five other Chinese families are in the same position of drawing nearly half a million dollars a year."

Nor is Liu and his fellow capitalists denied the opportunity to live like their affluence permits. For despite the fact that there are no nightclubs, no speculation, and so forth, for their entertainment they do have two cars, three servants, and an ample wardrobe for Madame Liu as well as ample spending money for the children at school. As Mr. Liu put it to Lyn Harrington: "I never had it so good nor felt so well as I do today. I have no more worries about competition."

The fact is, of course, that China's small but knowledgeable (in managerial matters) capitalist class was invited to remain and help build "new" China. Their factories were sold to the state in return for an annual income of 5% plus the managerial salary and all that was expected in return was that they would become "remolded." And what, exactly, does that mean? Simply that they attend frequent meetings with "Communist" leaders, confess their previous sins and atone for them by endorsing the "new" way of life for China's teeming hundreds of millions. This, is the so-called *new* China. A genuine "new deal" for the capitalist class, continued poverty and intensified exploitation for the workers.

PROFITS AND DEATH ON THE HIGHWAY

For years now "the carnage on the highways" has been a cliché used by commentators to describe one aspect of the American way of life — the heavy cost of automobile transportation. Over one and one-half million people have been killed on the highways in half a century. Each year more lives are lost in autos than in the entire course of most of the wars fought by the U.S. Four million were injured last year alone. At present rates, one out of every two Americans will be injured or killed in an automobile accident. Damages run to almost eight and one half billion dollars.

SACRED COW

For years Americans have accepted this cost fatalistically since, given human frailty, it seemed as if little could be done. The blame for accidents has been placed on the driver, on certain classes of drivers, on road conditions, on law enforcement, etc., but not on the auto itself. The automobile has been a kind of sacred cow; it has become a symbol of the highly praised American way of life. Men's egos, desires for status, sexual sublimations, urges for escape, all have been wrapped up in this symbol of modern capitalism.

... YIELDS SUPER-PROFITS

Moreover, the automobile industry and its dependents dominate American industry. One out of every seven workers is employed in this field. Most of the ten largest super-corporations revolve around the automobile. On top of them all is General Motors. Last year, G.M. grossed \$20.7 billion — an amount greater than the entire gross national product of Brazil and greater than that of most of the United Nations, a greater amount than the entire revenue of the French government. Last year G. M. made the largest profit in the entire history of company profits anywhere — one and ¾ billion dol-

lars! Half a billion more than the total budget of the U.S. "war on poverty." American capitalists make super-profits on the sacred cow.

Death on the highway, profits in Detroit. These two elements of American capitalism have been linked in rapidly accumulating evidence that has finally, after a year of public discussion, reached the headlines.

MASSIVE EVIDENCE ACCUMULATES

At this late date, there is little point in displaying the extensive evidence pointing to the automobile as a factor in accidents. Of course, there are other factors, the driver being the chief one. One of the points made by auto critics is that regardless of how an accident occurs, the severity of the damage depends to a great extent upon the vehicle. Those interested in examining in detail the evidence can consult the following: Ralph Nader's *Unsafe at Any Speed: The Designed-in Dangers of the American Automobile* (Grossman); Jeffrey O'Connell and Arthur Myer's *Safety Last: An Indictment of the Auto Industry* (Random House); *Consumer Reports*, April 1965; the recent report of the Senate Governments Operations Subcommittee's hearing on the proposed Traffic Safety Act; the records of the panel held during April in Washington, D.C. by the Council on Consumer Information; and the reports to the Stapp Crash Conference in October 1964 reported in the *Medical Tribune* in early 1965.

POOR QUALITY

These sources give facts and figures carefully documented not by socialists, but by noted engineers, physicians, law professors, and other professionals. In summary, the evidence of the automobile's contribution to death and maiming comes under two headings — poor quality control and unsafe design.

Poor quality control means that many cars — 18.5% according to the

auto companies' own figures — have had defects resulting from sloppiness in production and inspection. Over the past several years the assembly lines at Detroit have been speeded up; and tired workers laboring at breakneck speed make mistakes. Insufficient effort has been exerted to discover these mistakes before the cars go on the market. Once on the market, efforts to catch the defects are hushed up because of the unfavorable impact on sales by any damaging publicity. Only recently, when Senator Ribicoff demanded that the auto manufacturers produce their records, did astonished Americans learn that G.M. alone has quietly recalled about 8.7 million cars in the last six years.

UNSAFE DESIGN

Less emphasis is found in the mass media concerning the charge of unsafe design, the more serious charge. Unsafe design refers to the fact that the auto is planned with little regard for the possible effects of a collision upon the occupants of the vehicle. This disregard has made accidents caused by other factors more injurious than they need otherwise have been. In spite of the vast resources of the auto industry, little effort has been made in safety research. In addition, existing knowledge of safety design has been ignored by the industry. For years model cars with safety features have been displayed around the country by Cornell University's Automotive Crash Injury Research Project. Two years ago, an Italian company brought forth an experimental car engineered to maximize safety.

Furthermore, Detroit has actually fought efforts to further auto safety. The New York State Legislature's safety belt law was fought viciously by Detroit. The chairman of the legislative committee was even called by one of his campaign contributors and threatened with loss of funds if he persisted. Heavyhanded corporate police-state tactics have been uncovered. Critic Nader was shadowed by detectives in a desperate

effort to uncover material which could be used to blackmail him into silence.

SAFETY SCANDAL INDICTS CAPITALISM

There is no question that the facts publicized by the recent hearings in Washington are a shocking indictment of the auto industry. A driver whose negligence results in a single death is subject to the severe penalties of a criminal prosecution. Yet the massive slaughter caused not merely by the negligence of manufacturers but by a conspiracy against safety that has cost untold thousands of lives goes unpunished! Where human life is at stake, Detroit sacrifices safety to profits. Many of the possible alterations for safety would have been very cheap — especially considering the fact that the auto buyer pays about \$700.00 for the yearly stylistic changes. Yet the safety scandal goes even deeper than an indictment of the auto industry; it is an indictment of capitalism itself.

CAPITALISM MEANS PROFITS, NOT USEFULNESS

One elementary part of the socialist case is that under capitalism goods are produced for sale and not primarily for use. As long as profit is the motive for production, usefulness will be subordinated to the requirement of profit. The myth upon which the rationale for capitalism rests is that the maximization of profit for capitalists leads to the maximization of usefulness for workers. Just as the living organism is subject to the inexorable laws of biology, so the social system of capitalism is subject to its inherent laws of operation. Capitalists must seek to accumulate capital and to do this they must maximize profit.

Under capitalism the real product of industry is profits. The real product of the auto industry is profits, not automobiles. Other attributes of commodities such as usefulness, safety, and fitness for human con-

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PIGEONS AND PIGEON TRAINERS

Behavioral Psychology In A Capitalist World

Behavioral psychology, like nuclear physics, is a science that could help us a lot. Experiments like that of Dr. O. K. Moore at Hamden Country Day School in New Haven, Connecticut, for example, have shown us that through behavioral methods, children five and six years old, can be taught to write with the vocabulary of a college freshman and mimeograph their own newspaper.* But, again, like nuclear physics, behavioral science has already been ghoulishly misused by the "power structure" of capitalist society.

The science of behavior attempts to study, classify, and account for human behavior. There is nothing wrong with this activity in itself. The "wrong" of the matter lies in the fact that the science is being misused. It is unfortunate, but inevitable under capitalism, that the ability to control behavior through scientific methods is falling into the hands of those who represent the interests of the capitalist class: the military machine, the government, and industrial management. What this science is presently used for is not primarily the building of an educational system that will develop all the latent capacities of human beings; not to contribute to the development of a better, non-punitive, co-operative social system. Capitalism has other "priority" uses for behavioral science, just as it has for atomic power. The grants which support research in behavioral science at Harvard and elsewhere do not come from working-class wage envelopes, and it is not working-class interests which will first be served by the results. Let us look at three typical examples of the uses of this new science under capitalism.

INDUSTRY

A time-study expert has been given the job of squeezing more production

out of the work-force for less money. Even without the help of behaviorists, the company already has considerable control over the worker because of the wages system itself; more control, in fact, than it is possible to acquire over the behavior of a chattel slave. When a pigeon in an experimental box pecks a key, and is "rewarded" every ten minutes for this behavior with a pellet of food, he is said to be on a *fixed-interval reinforcement schedule*; his response of pecking is reinforced on a fixed interval of ten minutes. Similarly, when a worker produces goods and is rewarded every week with a wage, his response of work is reinforced on a fixed-interval of one week. Granted that pigeons are not men, that pigeons can be isolated for experimental purposes, and that they are not influenced by "culture," "tradition," or class divisions; but the fact is that reinforcement is a potent method of control over almost any species.

Now what the time-study expert may attempt to do, if he is a good behaviorist as well as a good reporter, is to provide "encouragement" to a worker who can convey part A to part B in two hand-motions instead of his usual three or four. Since approval is a generalized reward, or reinforcer, in our society, and most of us respond to it under the right conditions, the worker will probably refine his hand movements in the desired direction. But at this point the behaviorist raises the ante: he gives the approval only when part A reaches part B in one motion. Technically he is shaping behavior through *successive approximation* and *differential reinforcement*. It is actually more complex than it is described here, but good trainers have been known to teach pigeons how to bowl in this manner. The worker may be producing more parts per hour than ever before. As an added and more tangible reinforcement, his

wage may be raised from \$2.25 to \$2.30 an hour. This is a nice arrangement for the owner of the parts. And, if he can get away with it, the owner shifts his men to piece-work, that is, he will make the reinforcement depend on the number of responses emitted rather than the interval of time between reinforcements. Technically, piece-work is described by the term *fixed-ratio reinforcement*; and any good behaviorist knows that a pigeon on a fixed-ratio schedule will peck far longer and harder than a pigeon on a fixed-interval schedule. When the human being that they are treating like a pigeon goes home at night wrung out like a dried lemon peel, and when he has to spend most of his new five-cent raise on tranquilizers to relax his *activation syndrome* (technical term for the physiological reaction under anxiety), he may not feel so reinforced. In fact he may need a new television set to keep him from spending his leisure in disquieting thought.

Time-study activity, ideally, would seem to tend toward such goals. Practically, however, behaviorist efficiency experts must continually be confronted with frustrating difficulties in achieving their ends. Labor unions, for example, frown on such methods, and even though they are powerless to prevent time-study activity they do manage to have a great deal to say in how these studies are conducted. Even where unions are not present, resentments arise among the workers when individuals within their ranks contribute toward raising work norms or lowering rates on piece-work as a result of increased efficiency. Nevertheless, psychology is coming more and more into use throughout capitalism today, and such methods as piping in of appropriate music, suggestion boxes, company picnics, parties, and ball teams, keys to the boss's restroom, and every other conceivable kind of reinforcer to "identify" workers with management and make them completely dependent on their company

are coming more and more into practice.

ADVERTISING

The following simple basic principle of behavioral science has become almost the mainstay of the advertising industry. It was a Russian, Pavlov, who discovered that when you sound a bell just before feeding a dog, after a while the dog will salivate at the mere sound of the bell without the food. In the technical language of the behaviorist, the food is an *unconditional stimulus*. The bell, originally a *neutral stimulus*, acquires the power to elicit the response of salivation by being paired with the food, and thus becomes a conditioned *stimulus*. Technically of course, salivation is an example of reflex behavior, and what the advertiser wants to control is operant behavior; but the principles are not so very different.

And how do you like your new Mustang this year? Do you, too, get that unexplainable sexual kick when you sit behind the wheel and step on the gas? The car has been paired repeatedly with several different stimuli for sexual responses. Note the galloping horse on the grill design, the sleek curves and lines, the suggestive slits and openings just behind the cab, the smooth blonde that slithers into the front seat during the television commercial. Nobody actually thinks that he gets the girl when he buys the car; that isn't the point. The point is to make the car a conditioned stimulus for sexual feelings. The pairing of the car with sex may not actually take effect until you watch the commercial for the fiftieth time; but if the company can pay for fifty commercials, they've got you. If you don't buy it by that time, the reason is probably that every other company does the same thing.

THE MILITARY

A great deal of control is required to get a man to hunt down and shoot human beings, disembowel them with bayonets, sizzle their children into

* Cf. "Pied Piper of Hamden" by James Canniff (Columbia magazine, July 1964)

squirming pieces of charcoal with jellied gasoline, starve their families to death by poisoning their rice crops, drop bombs on their homes, trains, places of work, and hospitals, line them along the edges of bulldozed pits and mow them down with machine guns, contemplate atomizing them in a nuclear dust cloud, and finally invite them to participate in economic reconstruction among the still-smoking ruins of their villages. These things require a firm ideological commitment to "freedom" on the part of one's troops.

The process of obtaining the commitment really begins back in elementary school, where a given country's flag (stars and stripes, hammer and sickle, or swastika) is paired every single morning with social approval, group liturgy, and father-images (Lenin, Johnson, God). The flag eventually becomes a *conditioned discriminative stimulus*, providing the occasion for almost any behavior which can be construed as "defending" it. However, the flag is not enough. The next step is to condition into the soldier another set of stimuli that will turn on his activation syndrome and turn off his brains when he gets on the firing line. Here "enemy" symbols, flags, uniforms, faces, and ideological concepts are paired with atrocity pictures and stories. Meanwhile, the soldier will have been punished so much himself by his own training that he will literally beg for the chance to unleash his repressed counter-aggression on someone. The ideal someone, for his trainer, is the so-called enemy. Whenever the soldier blasts to bits a cardboard replica resembling the "enemy," he will be reinforced by approval, merit-points, ranks of marksmanship, etc. When he graduates from training and blasts to flesh-and-bloody bits the original human models, he will be reinforced with medals, rank insignia, and improvement in his social status. No use now to tell him that the "enemy's" children are just as human as his own. The mere sight of a face or building to which the

word "enemy" is attached has become both an *aversive* and a *discriminative* stimulus, occasioning (manually) only one conditioned response: kill. In socialist language, we call these methods *head-firing*.

We have only listed here the most basic methods of behavioral control. There is no room to explore the possibilities of hypnotism, drugs, and subliminal suggestion, all of which have been experimented with by capitalism's power structure.

WORKERS NEED KNOWLEDGE

The misuse of psychology, like the misuse of other sciences, is the fault of the capitalist system. Capitalism is a class society, where the ruling class, the owners of productive property, are always faced with the problem of controlling their workers and soldiers and staying in the saddle for the *only* thing that counts: profit. This has always been a difficult problem, as the numerous desertions, strikes, riots, and rebellions of history will attest. It is inevitable that when its vital class interests need defending, a ruling class will use any method at its command. Once having discovered a method like behavioral science and achieved results with it, the rulers themselves are reinforced. They will continue to develop and refine the method far beyond its present crude possibilities.

The working class have only one weapon with which to reply: knowledgeable revolution. Workers might find some knowledge of behavioral science helpful, but above all they need a knowledge of what capitalism is, how it works, how to get rid of it, and how to replace it with a co-operative society where each produces according to his ability and receives according to his need. A politically ignorant worker is hardly better off facing his masters than a pigeon in a laboratory experiment: he could be worse off, because at least the laboratory will take the responsibility of feeding the pigeon.

STAN BLAKE

TAXES, AND THOSE WHO PAY THEM

PRIME SOURCE OF REVENUE

Taxes are essential for the upkeep of the capitalist state. They compose the bulk of the revenues needed to pay the enormous expenses by the various branch of government.

The U. S. Treasury is not a community chest filled with exhaustless monetary treasure that can be called upon to meet the demands of a growing population. It is generally empty. Not only does the Government lack a store of fiscal funds, it is actually in debt to the tune of more than 300 billion dollars. And even this amount is annually growing larger instead of smaller. The liquidation of this indebtedness in the foreseeable future is not a likely happening. It is not even a desirable one.

But this stupendous liability is not bereft of compensatory features. It is not identical to the case of a worker owing one hundred dollars and holding a stock in trade of half that amount. The national debt is more than covered by tangible resources. These are declared to be, by every financial reporter, in every business journal, the Gross National Product, the quantity of goods and services yearly produced. This affirmation is glaringly misleading.

THE REAL "ASSETS"

A closer look at the social setup leads us to the conclusion that capitalist assets in these United States (whether classified as current, deferred, fixed, frozen, or liquid) comprise nothing less than the seventy-five million men and women who constitute the labor force in the economy, the sole source for the accumulation of capital. These are the golden eggs from which wealth is hatched. Take this colossal army of workers away from the means of production and there would be no G.N.P. to brag, or worry, or squabble about. Why persist in spreading the fiction that an enormous heap of commodities compose the national supply on hand,

Rackets are a common thing throughout the nation today. The daily papers are seldom devoid of feature articles on some kind of racket. They penetrate every crevice of the social scene. There are rackets in numbers, sports, murder, beer, and everywhere else that the money commodity is given an opportunity to function. They appear to have all the identification tags of a money disease.

But those particular rackets, conspicuous as they are to the public eye, are small entities compared to the mammoth racket — capitalism — out of which they have emerged. They are merely segments of that global exploitative system which includes as patrons every member of society who has to work for a living.

Those who operate this remunerative practice, of separating the producers from the wealth they produce, are a secluded and distinct class in human society. They constitute the owning class. They have certificates of various kinds to prove that they have a monopoly of all that is useful and gainful, as well as of the equipment for reproducing and increasing the current riches. They are also well provided with an effective force to make good the certificates.

With this monopoly racket retained for themselves, it would be reasonable to expect that those fortunate proprietors would possess their estates in peace and enjoyment, happy in the thought that the witless throng, which endures the servitude, has no inclination to challenge their authority to own and rule. But such is not the case. The capitalists have many family quarrels among themselves. The spheres of activity within the class are diverse and numerous. Those divisions engender conflicts over the ways and means of running the profit system. The bitter disputes over taxes clearly display the discord existing in the different class departments.

when right behind this aggregation of goods stands the real total wealth—the men and women who labor to place this fortune at the disposal of their rulers?

The question now arises — if the U. S. Treasury is in a chronic state of financial decrepitude, where does the money come from to foot the bill for housing development, transportation, road building, park maintenance, river and harbor readjustments, and the numerous other projects involving the expenditure of more than 100 billion dollars a year? The answer is that it comes from the revenues derived from a number of standard sources of supply, the main one of which is taxation. Every section of land, industry, commerce, and finance is tapped to provide the funds needed to keep the governing apparatus in an efficient functioning condition.

FIGHT TO SHIFT TAX BURDENS

Some capitalists invest in land. These are ever emphasizing the fact that the taxes on land are relatively higher than on other portions of the economy. They send perennial protests to Washington anent the unfair burden of taxation that is imposed on their property. Time was when agriculture dominated the economic picture. Only a few generations ago more than half of the population was engaged in producing foods and fibers for domestic consumption. Today less than 10 per cent is occupied with the same task. Forty years ago there were more than 7 million farms in the U.S. This has been reduced to the present status of about 3 million. While hundreds of big ones increase, thousands of little ones are pressured out of existence. Yet the total farm acreage remains fairly constant. Only the number of owners has changed.

While agriculture occupied the primary position in domestic affairs, as much as possible of the taxation load was shifted to the less fortunate branches of industry than in their early stages. When these in turn developed to the point where they

could assert authority, a greater percentage of the taxes were shunted back on the landed gentry.

The conflict of interests between the owners of heavy and light industries is an ever observable fact. One administration favors the capital invested in railways, steel mills, oil wells etc. and lightens the load of tax assessments at the expense of those engaged in manufacturing shoes, and processing foods. Another administration reverses the infliction. In the Johnson regime, something bigger than usual in the way of tax reduction has taken place. Over a three-year period, the entire tax imposition has been slashed.

JOHNSON'S TAX SURGERY

The average person pauses in bewilderment in the mystery of tax manipulation. On one hand we are told that as taxes form the chief basis of national revenue, they must be increased to pay for the growing needs of an expanding economy. On the other hand we are informed that a cut in taxes will stimulate the industries to a higher plane and increase the revenue. How do they equate the two postulates? Strange as it seems, it can be done. The efficacy of the up-and-down tax movement is a matter of degree.

President Johnson's tax planners looked the field over and decided that the tax structure could stand revision. The theory behind this conclusion was that high taxes put a brake on business. This resulted in a "fiscal drag" that prevented business from doing its best. The remedy — cut the taxes down to a lower level and business would perk up.

The plan was adopted. There were critics who contended that huge tax reductions would cause business to slow down and deficits to build up. But these were brushed aside. The ayes had it and so ordered. They insisted that with rising incomes the Treasury's portion in the form of taxes would rise too. It did.

In the first two years of the plan, there was a tax cut of 14 billion dol-

lars. Yet the annual revenue in those same two years moved up to the extent of 6½ billion dollars. The reduction in the tax penalty resulted in bigger incomes to tax.

But this theory of the President's planners has its obvious limitations. It can succeed only so far. It is not a permanent remedy for the health of the economy. Keep on cutting taxes and eventually the "law of diminishing returns" will stymie the enthusiasm of the capitalist planners. It is at best but a temporary device to assist in reviving a defective business medium.

THE WORKERS' "GAIN"?

Now this economic munificence we have been reviewing has affected specifically one section of society — the capitalist class. But let us not hastily conclude that the working class has been forgotten. It hasn't.

In the income tax reduction alone, generosity unbounded has been displayed. Billions of dollars of folding money would be left in pay envelopes, from coast to coast, due to the sagacity and foresight of the fiscal experts. Here's what a 10-point tax cut would mean to a married man with two children, assuming his reductions total 10 per cent. If his annual income is \$3000, he would have an additional \$30 dollars to play around with at the end of the year. If his wages or salary amounts to \$100,000 a year, his bounty increases to an amazing extent. Making allowances for all the gives and takes involved in this bracket, he would be the lucky possessor of a Christmas bonus of \$8,760. This should be an object lesson in stimulating workers to strike for higher wages.

But these glad tidings of financial success pertain only to the diminutions in the income tax. The decreases attendant on excise taxes are more dramatic still. A look at some of the quotations will suffice.

First on the list—air conditioners. On a \$600 conditioner there is a saving of \$40. But we haven't seen many of these things in working class

homes. There the air conditioners are usually confined to the windows. If it's too warm—raise the window. If it's too cold—clamp the window down. Nothing to it.

The next item is a pertinent one — automobiles. Many workers use them. The excise tax on these is to be chopped in 3 rounds, ending Jan. 1, 1969. The saving here is considerable. Take a Cadillac for instance. We can afford a plug for this car in the U.S. It will not greatly affect the total sales. The readers of this journal are a sophisticated lot, and have developed a noticeable degree of sales resistance. When the entire cut is consummated on the Cad, the saving is around \$400. This is enticing.

On a \$5000 ring, the buyer pays \$500 less. On a mink coat priced at \$5000, there is another retrenchment of \$500. Musical instruments, TV's, club dues, entertainment budgets, and virtually everything else of interest to workers are being lavishly deflated.

IS TAXATION OUR PROBLEM?

Now, how does all this reduction tinsel *really* affect the men and women who work for a living? Does it leave them better or worse off at the end of the year? Or are they still the same peddlers of the commodity labor power, which is sold at a market price which will enable them to function in producing wealth?

In brief, do all these publicized money savers have anything to do with the workers' social position at all? True, there are minor and temporary effects on sections of the workers, but as a class they are immune to the changes.

Do the workers pay taxes? Superficially, yes. Fundamentally, no. Most of the workers we meet are convinced that they pay taxes. It is obvious that they do. Almost every article they buy has a tax added. It is regular routine for the Government to withhold taxes from wages or salaries during the year. The tax bill confronts them every time they turn around.

To our ancient ancestors, it was obvious that the sun went round the earth. They only had to look at it to see that's what it did. There are still denizens of remote areas who are sure that's what the sun is doing today. It requires the teaching of the rudiments of astronomy and physics to get the erroneous idea out of their heads.

WHO PAY TAXES?

The workers of our time who are assured that they are paying the tax bills, will have to have their illusions removed through the therapy of social knowledge. They will have to have the fact impressed upon their minds that instead of them paying the taxes out of their wages, that the taxes are really paid by the employers out of the portion of the wealth that is taken from the producers, and to which the owners are entitled due to their social standing in the capitalist system.

A relevant illustration may help to elucidate. Take the case of the cow. The cow is a useful domestic animal. Her production consists of milk and meat. In order to get the optimum results, the cow has to be well fed, groomed, and stabled. Every care must be given her to enhance the milk and meat supply.

Suppose the Government, in its quest for revenue, levies a sales or income tax on the cow. Such could have no effect on the economic status of the cow. She still must be attended to, and provided with the same amount of food and care if she is to continue on the same productive scale.

Should the Internal Revenue Department insist on payment, and insert a clause in the form the cow is required to fill out, stating that if the payment is not pronto, a certain quantity of bran and turnips will be withheld from her dietary quota, this would only mean that the cow would retaliate by withholding the anticipated measure of milk and meat. It wouldn't pay off.

If the cow tax is to be paid at all, it is the man who owns the cow who

will have to make good. He is the custodian of his property, be it landed, bovine, or mechanical, and as such, must be ready to satisfy the Government's demands.

The cow is more accomplished than the worker. She has two commodities to offer. He has only one — labor power. He sells this for a price that represents its value. Under ordinary conditions, while the price is not sufficient to enable him to indulge in luxury cars, furs, jewelry, and night club entertainment, it does give him enough to keep him functioning on the job, and reproducing his power to labor.

When the Government calls upon him to dig up a specified sum of money to pay taxes while, in the short run, there does seem to be a deceptive vision of something being handed over, in the long run the tax payment becomes part of the costs of maintaining the labor power, and only the capitalist is in a position to pay this.

J. A. MacDONALD

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INTERNATIONALISM

Introductory note: Like many of the terms used over the years by socialists, "Internationalism" has been subjected to the confusing influences of a usage supporting the efforts of nations, usually in the name of peace and freedom, to band together to improve their position in the ferocious struggles of capitalism. In this article our old comrade uses the terms, as we have done, to mean a world approaching and arriving at socialism — a world without nations. — Editorial Committee, SPC.

The imperative mandate of our time is not merely a concept but the implementation of internationalism. It is the need which grows more obvious year by year, day by day. Those who ignore it deceive themselves and hamper all humanity.

In his pursuit of speed, sex and dollars, that soft shelled animal we call man seldom pauses to ponder this need. If he does, a few seconds are all that are necessary. First, an elementary knowledge of geography shows the earth only so large and no larger. Then there is a rather important factor called population, fewer habitable portions, and many areas all but unfit for human occupancy being utilized. Improved health methods whereby infant mortality is becoming almost a thing of the past, old age extending, and wonder drugs curtailing epidemics and thus adding to the mounting human mass, causing nations to burst at their seams and spill over weaker contending nations, all point up the need for the one vital thing being ignored — human federation.

As for examples to serve as precedent, they are as plain as the points of the compass. In almost every respect, excepting survival, humanity has already federated. Thanks to communication each part of the planet knows what almost all other parts are doing, saying and all but thinking. Only yesterday, communication was bound up with transportation. They were virtually one and the same. Today they are virtually divorced and both are all but instantaneous. Man's mechanical devices encircle the earth with incredible speed, probing and spying and automatically relaying back information to a sphere which has

become as a mere child's playball which we weigh, measure and compute almost as accurately, while man on either hand confronts the naked poles.

And transportation! The Aztec runners, the pony express, covered wagon, stage-coach, river steamboat and steam locomotive; all came and all have passed into the limbo of all but forgotten modes of travel. Clive was a year and a half in journeying from England to India. Were he alive today he could make it in a few hours. By virtue of the jet airplane one can leave the Arctic atmosphere behind and be in sub-tropical zones before your milkman has made his daily rounds.

All the prerequisites of an internationalized, a civilized humanity, are here — save one, man himself. He is ever the great enigma, the arch predator, the only creature to plot the destruction of its own kind. He builds cities, then razes them. Years back, a famous war correspondent returned after ranging over Eurasian battlefields for nearly a lustrum. He was met at the ship by a mob of reporters.

"Of all the scenes you have witnessed," one asked him, "which impressed you most?"

"An Arab farmer plowing in the ruins of Babylon with his wooden stick," he replied.

Such recurring contradictions down through his past make one wonder whether man can ever become a social animal, and internationalism ever become anything but a wishful dream. Yet the symbol, the guideposts, have ever pointed in that direction. Perhaps the first symbol was the sun, a benefactor even our primitive ancestors doubtless saw,

however, dimly, as the one thing all men shared in common. . . And in all likelihood the sun was the first god. The habit of holding one's hand above the eyes when at prayer could well be a flashback to sun-worshippers who were forced to shield their eyes from the red glare.

Later along, when warring tribesmen had developed sharp weapons and saw blood that gushed forth from an adversary was of a uniform red, regardless of his skin coloring, it was made evident that all men at least were blood-brothers. Then ages later, when exploiter ruling classes needed a "name" for their protesting subjects, the term "Red" was seized upon and hurled as a branding reproach at those who forgot that "their's" was the noblest of nations, and who dreamed their subversive dreams of an international brotherhood.

In our time defenders of the status quo meet the menace of internationalism with a more potent weapon: *confusion*. With their monopoly of the mediums of publicity they confuse that which cannot otherwise be combatted. First victim was socialism, a specific analysis of social relationships. A web of misinterpretation was woven around it until it became to most people anything but specific. Then came the camouflage of uniting nations. In the face of the fact that nations are and have ever been symbols of the separation of people, the inference went forth that if there were only United Nations, the unification and universal happiness of all humanity would automatically follow, that all would be "all for the best in the best of all possible worlds."

As we total the successes of these and other deceptions, we wonder whether universal brotherhood must always remain a utopian skyline which dazzles but dances beyond reach. As Robert G. Ingersoll would put it: "A faint and feeble flame, a flickering torch, by stumblers carried in the starless night."

And yet, as we look over the list

of those whose work meant most to humanity, we find that virtually all were internationalists, from Aristotle down to our own time. The one great question left is: was humanity really worth their efforts? Clarence Darrow put the matter bluntly but mayhap unerringly when conferring with union organizers in Idaho who were in danger of being railroaded to the penitentiary: "You may not belong in the penitentiary because you think you can help the world, but you belong in the insane asylum, for the world doesn't want to be helped."

One shudders at such cold objectivity by Darrow and his predecessors, from Diogenes to Cervantes, Voltaire, Defoe, Clemens, etc. Then we recall those fallen civilizations, those magnificent cities now rubble. All combine to make us wonder whether humanity has any asset distinct from other organisms, except hope. Still, while its faintest star is seen we can only stumble through the gloom, holding the torch as high as possible.

Just one of two destinies awaits us — Internationalism or obliteration.

ROY DEVORE

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Green for Danger

Once more the die is cast. Once again the working class of Britain have voted into political power the representatives of British capitalism; giving the "green light" for the wages system — that hallmark of their degradation — to continue. In the weeks preceding the ballot, however, there was no sign that it would be otherwise despite reports in the "Manchester Evening News" of the "High I.Q." voting ability of some constituencies, Withington in particular. The political "choices" offered in Withington, as throughout Britain, generally, were all pledged — in one way or another — to a continuation of capitalism. Let us glance at the results of the "High I.Q." vote-casting in Withington:

Sir Robert Cary, Bt. (Con.) ..16,676.
D. G. Clark (Lab.)16,029.
G. V. Davies (Lib.) 6,150.

Does this result show any sign of the political maturity of the Withington section of the working class? None whatever. No more, in fact, than it would have shown had Labor won here as it did nationally. What Withington voters and the voters of Britain, generally, did in the 1966 Elections was *ensure*: a continuance of limited wars and the threat of all-out wars; an "opportunity" for British youth in the "exciting" career of hired assassin in the British Armed Services; the degradation of the old-age pensioners; glittering Lord Mayors' banquets for the privileged and National Assistance for the neediest; 1000-pound bids at Christie's auction and six-penny bids at Jumble sales. So much for the "High I.Q." voters of Withington, in particular, and Britain, in general. They have again supported the "heads I win, tails you lose" game of British capitalism.

The "Green light" has once again been given to British capitalism by a confused electorate. So war clouds will continue to hover ominously over ambassadorial banquets (and over

everyone else) while the world's rulers go about their business of dividing and re-dividing the globe, fighting over mountains of surplus value that continue to be produced and given away by workers everywhere. This is the "best of all possible worlds" of capitalism — the wealth to the owners, the crumbs to the producers.

If humanity had no prospect other than the "solutions" offered by the ruling class to the present earth-shaking problems the outlook would be black indeed. Fortunately, however, the nucleus of a means to end these problems does exist today, the (as yet) tiny scientific socialist movement. The socialist voter is the only example of "High I.Q." political maturity. He votes for the abolition of the wages system and for nothing short of this. Parliament in Britain and the other central organs of power throughout most of the developed world can be captured through the election process by a politically mature working class but this will never be done by voting for capitalism — the real enemy.

What slave would fail to cut his chains once he realized that the ballot is a file which he possesses? A socialist working-class in Britain, as in other lands, will one day use this "file" to sever the degrading ball and chain called wage-labor. The spearhead of the socialist movement in Britain has shown itself in the 1966 British Elections — in London and Glasgow — even though insignificant in strength. This is but a beginning of a political attack which will ultimately sweep capitalism off the planet and forever put an end to the bloody period of class-divided society in the history of homo sapiens.

G. R. RUSSELL, S.P.G.B.

NOTE

Bill Pritchard writes re the ending of his piece on Vietnam (WS No. 2-1966). "I wrote that the prize involved was Indonesia and I meant to write Indonesia, not Southeast Asia, as it appeared. (Our apologies, Ed. Comm.)"

PROBLEMS OF CAPITALISM & SOCIALISM

Socialism is a system of society where there is no buying and selling; all the wealth of the world will be made freely available to all men and women — regardless of whether or not they can “afford” it (which is the criterion used today), or even whether they “deserve” it. We reason that as long as there's plenty of everything to go around, everyone ought to have as much as he wants, simply because he is a human being. And there is plenty of everything to go around. It is a fact that, if the productive machinery already existing today were put to use to satisfy human wants and needs, instead of simply to make profits, then every man, woman, and child on earth could know what it means not to want for any material thing.

In a society of scarcity, socialism would be impossible. But — thanks to capitalism — we are not living in a society of scarcity. Capitalism has solved the problem of production. Now it's time to move out of capitalism, away from buying and selling as the means of distributing goods, and into socialism; because *capitalism cannot, apparently, solve the problem of distribution*. Capitalism has raised the standards of living tremendously during the few centuries in which it has been the dominant form of society. It has raised standards so high that today, for the first time in the history of man, we live in a world of potential abundance. But there are two things that capitalism cannot do, and that is why we must now change over to a new system of society.

First, capitalism cannot realize the potential abundance it makes possible, as far as huge masses of the world's population are concerned. That's why farmers must be paid NOT to produce food — in spite of the fact that plenty of people are hungry every night despite what capitalism has done for them; — and that's why the so-called “effective demand” for any given product so often has little

relation to how many people really would like it *if they could afford it*. We come back to the idea that goods today are produced to be sold; that buying and selling are the means of distribution under capitalism; that the question facing a man is always “can I afford it?” — not “Do I need it?” or “Do I want it?”...

The other, second, thing that capitalism cannot do is in a way even more important. It cannot provide a good social environment — a healthy moral climate in which people might enjoy such standards of living as capitalism does make possible. I mean by this, that even if it somehow became possible for everyone in the world to have everything they need, *without* making the great change from capitalism to socialism, it would still be almost impossible to enjoy the benefits of this situation to the fullest under a commercial, buying and selling economic system. For instance, if welfare agencies were to dole out a comfortable allowance to every single citizen of the capitalist world, this still would not be a desirable society. **NO MAN IS FREE WHILE HE DEPENDS ON ANOTHER MAN FOR HIS FOOD, CLOTHING, AND SHELTER.** Only in a socialist world will individual freedom truly exist, for the first time in man's history. **NO MAN CAN KNOW THE TRUE DIGNITY OF BEING HUMAN** until the human race as a whole has come into control of its environment. And what does this mean, if not that the means of producing and distributing wealth **MUST BE DEMOCRATICALLY CONTROLLED** by society as a whole.

Here are some problems socialism will solve:

There will be no more war; no more poverty; no more economic insecurity. Every individual will be free of these worries, and therefore free to develop himself, his own individuality, to the fullest. The values of the socialist society, which will replace the commercial value of

today, will be those of fellowship and individual integrity.

Of course, socialism is not a panacea. It in no sense represents the final stage in the development of man. It does represent what may well be the final step in man's control of his social environment, and in this sense it will mark the beginning of his real history.

We have never claimed that socialism will solve all of man's problems, nor that it would be a good thing if it did. We simply claim that the problems the socialist revolution *will* solve are such that man will be released for the first time to face his meaningful challenges squarely. The problem of leisure time will have to be solved in the new society; the problem of devising excellent housing for all people; problems of city planning; of education; and of a hundred different areas. But these are not so much problems as challenges, challenges which cannot be met today, for the most part because of commercial factors involved. It is these factors that must be removed before man can really begin to live.

The socialist society will come into being as soon as — but **NOT BEFORE** — we all want it enough to make it work. It depends on you.

Editorial Note: The foregoing talk was written and delivered by Comrade Karla Ellenbogen over Radio Station WCRB-AM and FM on Saturday evening May 7, 1966.

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Continued from Page 7

sumption are realized only to the extent that they further profit.

THE MARKET IS NO GUARANTY OF QUALITY

But does not the competition of the market force capitalists to produce commodities of the cheapest, safest, and most useful nature? No, it does not.

As goods become more technical and the production more complicated, the average person loses his competence to judge the product. He lacks the information necessary to evaluate a commodity, particularly in terms of alternative possibilities. In the case of autos, the buyer is confronted with 360 different models to choose from. He knows nothing about engineering and safety design. If all the models lack in safe design, he will not notice it. Subjected to a constant barrage of advertising that stresses looks, speed, and power, he comes to judge autos in these terms — and is then blamed for being too stupid to ask for safety. He has never been given an opportunity to weigh the merits of alternative designs of which he has no knowledge. Hence, to put it in terms of the time-worn expression of economists, he can no longer tell if the shoe pinches. In short, it is not in the interests of capitalists to provide the consumer with the information necessary to make a wise decision in buying. Institutional lying by the intellectual prostitutes of big business have hypnotized Americans into accepting the shiny new products of Detroit.

The automobile industry is dominated by the four giant corporations that have a virtual monopoly on auto production. It is in the interests of the auto makers to restrict competition to sales and advertising campaigns. Under monopoly capitalism, large scale industry is dominated by a few giants who have an understanding between themselves not to do anything that would rock their collective boat of profits. The days

of cutthroat competition among the giants is over.

Even bourgeois economists admit that under modern conditions the old guarantees accompanying the free market are no longer effective. But they assert that, nevertheless, there are "countervailing" economic forces that protect the interest of the worker as a consumer. The auto safety scandal has demonstrated the ineffectiveness of these checks.

First, the few organizations whose purported objective is protection of the consumer failed to prevent the unsafe autos from being sold. These consumer organizations are few and small simply because there is little profit to be made in them; thus large investments are not attracted into the consumer analysis business. The largest and best known is the Consumer Union of the U.S. which tests consumer durable goods and publishes its finding in *Consumer Reports*. C. R. failed as a check on unsafe autos for several reason. First, being little more than a small circulation magazine its influence is quite restricted. Its small voice is drowned out by the advertisements of the mass media on which billions of dollars are spent. Second, it does not have the funds to attempt complete engineering analyses of commodities. Hence, functional design was ignored by C. R. Third, much of the key information lies behind a paper curtain in Detroit — even court actions on suits for defective design have failed to get Detroit to divulge information on the results of its tests of their autos' crashability. But most important of all, since C. R. accepts the basic premises of capitalist society, it is reluctant to probe too deeply into the workings of modern capitalism. Hence the faithful reader of C. R. would have had no hint of the auto safety scandal until *after* others had already brought it into the open.

What of the rival interests of other corporate powers? Take the huge insurance industry. One would think that since automobile insurance is the major item marketed by the industry, it would have exerted efforts

to uncover and expose Detroit's failings. However, this did not happen. Liberty Mutual Insurance Company men working with Cornell University did quietly display model cars designed for safety but, otherwise, no word of protest came from the insurance industry. Their silence in the face of the slaughter over the past decades makes them accessories before the fact.

THE MYTH OF COUNTERVAILING POWERS

Insurance companies can pass on the higher cost of auto crashes to the consumer by raising the insurance rates. The auto industry is a big customer for casualty insurers — and the latter do not wish to lose their customers. Then too, much of the income of insurers comes from investments, not premiums — and the auto, rubber, and oil industries are among the most profitable investments. However, "The most important reason," says auto critic Nader, "is the unwritten law that large business groups never attack one another over a fundamental issue publicly unless they see their survival at stake." Obviously, if serious charges and countercharges filled the air, the public might become disgusted with *all* the corporate empires and *that* would be dangerous for capitalism.

The "free press," another capitalist watchdog, dozed while the scandal mounted. Afraid to offend one of the biggest advertisers, newspapers even now underplay the significance of the exposures.

UNIONS CONSPICUOUSLY ABSENT

Trade union leaders feel a stake in the masters' industries. Since the United Auto Workers is one of the leading unions in the country, there has been no effort on the part of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. to counteract the Detroit snow job on autos. The only union boss who raised any noise at the Senate hearings was the ostracized Jimmy Hoffa of the Teamsters who has plugged for a fifth wheel to keep trailer trucks from jackknifing.

Doubtless, auto capitalists felt they needed Hoffa's advice about as much as their passenger cars need a fifth wheel.

THE STATE IS NO PROTECTOR OF WORKERS

The last desperate remedy for defenders of capitalism to prescribe when faced with the incontrovertible evidence of capitalism's inability to produce goods fit for human consumption is regulation by the state. Fifty years ago, when people became aware of the kind of food the free market and the profit motive presented them with, they turned to the federal government to protect them. The Pure Food and Drug Act was passed in an attempt to secure decent food and drugs. Despite this protection, drug companies were able to cause the maiming of thousands of babies as exposed in the thalidomide scandal — and at the same time they were reaping huge profits. For several years, evidence has mounted concerning the connection between tobacco smoking and lung cancer. British medical authorities had published findings. But, until publication of the Surgeon General's Report, the silence from the federal government was deafening. The new head of the Food and Drug Administration, Dr. James Goddard, was quoted (in *Time*, April 15, 1966) as being "astounded by the low quality work... the conscious withholding of unfavorable data," etc. In spite of federal supervision, airplanes continue to crash with clock-like regularity. The Federal Power Commission did not prevent a massive electric failure that paralyzed much of the country last year. The Federal Trade Commission whitewashed last year's investigation of unsafe tires. One could go on and on. But rather, let the capitalists speak for themselves.

As quoted by the *Wall Street Journal* on March 3, 1966,

"Some auto men, in contrast to the company's formal position, aren't as afraid of government standards, figuring that the government will have to come to the industry for help in setting the standard..."

The same issue of the *Wall Street Journal* quotes "an administration official" as saying,

"We want to work in consonance with the industry to provide a relatively safe car within the framework of economics." (My emphasis, W.J.)

In the face of this, the liberals' banking on the federal government to protect "the consumer" is like leaving the fox to guard the chickens. Yet, Ralph Nader, Professor Jeffrey O'Connell, Arthur Myers, the *New Republic's* muckraking James Ridgeway, — and the Communist Party's economics "spokesman," Fred Gilman, all seek the remedy in state protection. A doctor who continued to rely upon remedies that had been proven ineffective would be denounced as a quack. The liberals' and the radicals' phony quack remedy of state protection should discredit them as social critics. The state exists to preserve the interests of the capitalist class, not to make life better for workers.

There can be no question but that capitalism's interests are served by the profitable crash-ups on the highway. Nader's views as summarized in the *Progressive* (May, 1966) include the following gems:

"Under present conditions, there is little economic incentive for the auto maker to concern himself seriously with automobile casualties...for the costs and penalties are not upon him. Actually, the more cars depreciate through collisions, the greater the demand.

"Neither do auto collisions and injuries threaten the economy generally. For the costs of the highway epidemics are essentially economic demands feeding a vast highway accident service industry composed of medical, hospital, police, legal, insurance, repair and administrative services...Death on the highway produces incomes and profits..."

"The economics of the highway accident industry... do not breed self correcting forces."

Death and suffering are an "economic demand" providing jobs and profit! What could be a greater exposure of the insanity of capitalism! Well-respected and well-paid physicians, lawyers, and businessmen are

parasites of human suffering. This calls to mind Karl Marx' remarks on the value of crime to capitalism* — it gives jobs to policemen, judges, etc.

CONSUMER SOVEREIGNTY EXPOSED

A final lesson to be learned from this mess is the exposure of the "consumer sovereignty" ploy of bourgeois economists. Soviet moves toward a greater reliance upon the market are gleefully cited as evidences of the effectiveness of the market as a mechanism to improve the quality of consumer goods. The automobile provides a test of this theory.

The auto is a large item in the budget of most workers because it is a necessity for transportation. The auto industry dominates the economy. Safety in autos deals not with some minor aspect of convenience, but with life and health itself — it is literally a life or death matter. What do we see? In spite of the vast resources of the industry, in spite of the technical feasibility of safe design, in spite of industries with a stake in auto safety, in spite of the press, unions, consumer organizations and the state — in spite of all this, the auto, the sacred cow of American capitalism, is a threat to human life before anyone even steps inside it!

The worker cannot get reasonably safe vehicles because he is not sovereign, that is, he does not control the product and its manufacture. Far from being sovereign, the worker is the opposite — he is a wage slave.

The term "consumer sovereignty" misrepresents economic reality. It ignores the question of how much of the wealth of society actually gets in the hands of workers. In reality, the capitalist class "consumes" most of production in investments, expenses of the state, etc., especially, in the accumulation of capital. Only a pittance is used to support the working class.

The term also confuses an element

of choice between products for domination. Privates in the army may get a choice of menu on some occasions, but only a fool would think they are "sovereign" because of this element of choice. They are still privates, not generals, and as such they are subject to the orders of the generals. The most misleading part of the term "consumer sovereignty" is the widely held assumption that the market operates so as to ensure the most satisfactory goods technically possible within a given price range.

Finally, it should be noted that the market with its "consumer sovereignty" does not of itself provide certain use values simply because it can never offer them for sale. Unpolluted air, picturesque natural scenery, and ease of transportation cannot easily be turned into commodities. They must be obtained through cooperative community planning. Hence these needs are slighted in a market economy.

The only way workers can ensure the best quality goods is to institute a system of society in which satisfaction of human wants can be achieved without being restricted by the profit motive, class rule, and private property. Only under socialism will there be goods fit for human beings.

W. JEROME

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* See "Karl Marx on Crime," W.S. No. 3-1965.

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OBJECT:

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of society as a whole.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The Companion Parties of Socialism hold:

1. — That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labor alone wealth is produced.
2. — That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.
3. — That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.
4. — That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.
5. — That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.
6. — That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organize consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and overthrow of plutocratic privilege.
7. — That as political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interest of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.
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